

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 106973

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO BANGKOK, KUALA LUMPUR,
JAKARTA, MANILA, OTTAWA, SINGAPORE, HONG KONG, PEKING FROM
TOKYO APRIL 16:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 5675

NOFORN

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SUBJECT: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH ROC REP MA SHU-LY

REF: A. TOKYO 4664

SUMMARY: AFTER INITIAL SUPERSENSITIVE APPROACH GOJ TOOK
TOWARD RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN FOLLOWING THE 1972 DIPLOMATIC
BREAK, TAIWAN'S SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE IN TOKYO, MA SHU-LY,
FINDS JAPANESE INHIBITIONS LESSENING. RELATIONS ARE
SMOOTHER, AND ACCESS TO SENIOR JAPANESE POLITICAL FIGURES,
INCLUDING FORMER ARCH-VILLAINS TANAKA AND OHIRA, HAS
IMPROVED. MA ALSO BELIEVES THAT HE IS SUCCEEDING FAIRLY
WELL IN RETAINING LOYALTIES OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN
JAPAN AGAINST ATTEMPTS BY HIS PRC RIVALS TO GAIN
SUPPORT, ESPECIALLY AMONG TAIWANESE STUDENTS, FOR
"REUNIFICATION." ON THE PRC POWER STRUGGLE ITSELF, MA'S
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ANALYSIS IS REMARKABLY CLOSE TO THAT OF USG ANALYSTS.
HE BELIEVES HUA KUO-FENG'S CAPABILITIES ARE STILL TO BE
TRESTED IN THIS INTERIM BEFORE THE POWER STRUGGLE
WHICH HE REGARDS AS INEVITABLE AFTER MAO'S DEATH. HE HOPES

THE TURMOIL WILL BE SUFFICIENT TO FORESTALL WHAT HE REGARDS AS OTHERWISE CERTAIN MOVES BY THE NEXT US PRESIDENT, REGARDLESS WHO THE PRESIDENT MIGHT BE, TO COMPLETE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH PEKING. FINALLY, TAIWAN'S RELATIONS WITH SE ASIA ARE SATISFACTORY AND IMPROVING. END SUMMARY.

1. JAPAN-TAIWAN RELATIONS

RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND TAIWAN ARE GOOD AND IMPROVING, ACCORDING TO ASSESSMENT GIVEN TO EMBOFF BY EAST ASIA RELATIONS ASSOCIATION (EARA) DIRECTOR MA SHU-LY. MA SAID THAT THE NERVOUSNESS AND STRAIN WHICH CHARACTERIZED MANY JAPANESE POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS ATTITUDES IN PERIOD FOLLOWING DIPLOMATIC BREAK WITH TAIWAN HAS GIVEN WAY TO GREATER RELAXATION AND OPENNESS IN DEALING WITH TAIWAN AND MODERATED CONCERN ABOUT PROTEST FROM PEKING. MA ENJOYS CLOSE RELATIONS WITH LDP VP SHIINA AND WITH DEPUTY PREMIER FUKUDA. BOTH, MA SAID, ARE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE OPENLY IN PRO-ROC ACTIVITIES. SHIINA WAS PROMINENT FIGURE AT MEMORIAL SERVICE EARLY THIS MONTH FORMER ROC PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND FUKUDA SERVED AS CHIEF MOURNER AT FUNERAL SERVICE APRIL 1 FOR LIN I'BUN, FORMER PRESIDENT OF FEDERATION OF CHINESE ASSOCIATIONS IN JAPAN, A PRO-ROC ORGANIZATION. MA WAS NUMBER TWO MOURNER.

2. MORE SURPRISING, MA SAID, IS ATTITUDE OF FIGURES DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PEKING - FORMER PM TANAKA AND FORMER FONMIN OHIRA. MA CALLED ON TANAKA AT HIS HOME DURING RECENT MONTHS AND FOUND TANAKA VERY CORDIAL. WHEN ROC FINANCE MINISTER LI KUO-TING TRANSITED TOKYO LATE LAST SUMMER, MA ARRANGED A MEETING WITH OHIRA, THE FIRST MEETING BY ROC OFFICIALS WITH OHIRA SINCE THE DIPLOMATIC BREAK. OHIRA PROMISED LI HE WOULD WORK CLOSELY WITH THE USG TO TRY TO PROTECT THE ROC'S INTERESTS IN IMF. LI ALSO PROPOSED THAT EARA AND ITS COUNTERPART IN TAIWAN, THE JAPAN INTERCHANGE CONFIDENTIAL

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ASSOCIATION (JIA), ASSISTED BY "ADVISORS" FROM THE GOJ AND GROC, HOLD TALKS TO RESOLVE BILATERAL TRADE/EXCHANGE PROBLEMS. LI SUGGESTED FOLLOWING THE TAIWAN-CANADA PATTERN OF HOLDING TALKS IN A THIRD COUNTRY. TALKS WITH CANADIANS WERE HELD IN HAWAII AND NEW YORK/WASHINGTON. FINMIN OHIRA AGREED ON THE SPOT. FEBRUARY TALKS IN TAIPEI RESULTED (REFTELS). MA COMMENTED THAT SOME OF THE PROBLEMS DISCUSSED IN FEBRUARY HAVE BEEN RESOLVED. BAN ON IMPORT OF TAIWAN PAPAYAS, MANGOES, AND CERTAIN ORANGES HAS BEEN LIFTED. VISAS ARE BEING ISSUED MORE RAPIDLY IN TAIPEI AND IN URGENT CASES JIA ITSELF CAN ISSUE VISAS. GOJ HAS ALSO FINALLY RELENDED AND WILL PERMIT EARA TO INCREASE ITS STAFF OF REPS IN TOKYO FROM TAIWAN FROM THIRTY TO FORTY.

3. MA SAID IT WAS IRONIC THAT HE HAS BETTER ACCESS TO SENIOR POLITICAL LEADERS AND CAN RESOLVE PROBLEMS MORE EASILY WITH THEM THAN WITH THE BUREAUCRACY, PARTICULARLY FONOFF BUREAUCRATS. PROBLEM WITH MANGOES, MA SAID, HE WORKED ON DIRECTLY WITH AGRICULTURE MINISTER ABE; VISA PROBLEMS WITH JUSTICE MINISTER INABA; RESTORATION OF THE AIRLINK WITH TRANSPORT MINISTER KIMURA AND FONMIN MIYAZAWA. FONOFF BUREAUCRATS PLEAD THAT THEIR LIFE-LONG CAREERS WILL BE RUINED IF THEY MAKE CONCESSIONS CONCERNING TAIWAN AND ASSERT THAT MINISTERS HAVE GREATER LATITUDE SINCE THEY WILL BE IN OFFICE ONLY A COUPLE OF YEARS IN ANY CASE. DESPITE CAUTION IN FONOFF, MA SAID JAPANESE KNOW THE PRC EMBASSY WILL PROTEST ANY GESTURE GOJ MAKES TOWARD TAIWAN BUT THEY SIMPLY DO NOT SEEM TO CARE AS THEY ONCE DID. ILLUSTRATING THE POINT, EARA INVITED PROFESSORS FROM GOJ-SUPPORTED UNIVERSITIES TO TAIWAN TWO YEARS AGO, PRC EMBASSY PROTESTED, AND SUBSEQUENTLY THE FONOFF TOOK UP THE MATTER WITH EARA. LAST YEAR, EARA INVITED DEANS AND WENT THROUGH SIMILAR EXPERIENCE. RECENTLY, JAPAN TEACHERS TRAINING COLLEGE PRESIDENT (ALSO GOJ INSTITUTION) VISITED TAIWAN. DESPITE PROTEST BY PRC EMBASSY, EARA HAS NOT BEEN CALLED IN. AN INVITATION TO TOHOKU UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT WAS FORMALLY APPROVED RECENTLY BY THE EDUCATION MINISTRY. PRC EMBASSY IN SOME WAYS OPERATES IN ALMOST OPPOSITE FASHION, DEALING PRIMARILY AND SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE JAPANESE BUREAUCRACY. MA NOTED THAT PRC AMB CHEN CHU, AFTER BEING ABSENT FROM CONFIDENTIAL

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JAPAN FOR FOUR MONTHS, RETURNED IN FEBRUARY, AND HAS NOT YET CALLED ON THE FOREIGN MINISTER EXCEPT WHEN HE ACCOMPANIED A VISITING DELEGATION ON A COURTESY CALL TWO WEEKS AGO ON MIYAZAWA. CHEN HAS ALSO NOT CALLED ON VICE FOREIGN MINISTER SATO, WHO ASSUMED HIS POST AFTER CHEN LEFT TOKYO. MA SPECULATED THAT AMB CHEN, AN ALLY OF CHIANG CHING, WAS ORDERED BACK TO TOKYO IMMEDIATELY AFTER HUA KUO-FENG WAS NAMED ACTING PREMIER TO PREVENT CHEN'S CHOUIST DEPUTIES, LED BY COUNSELOR MI KUO-CHUN, FROM SEIZING CONTROL OF THE PRC EMBASSY.

4. IN ANOTHER BIT OF IRONY, MA THEN COMMENTED THAT THE SITUATION IN THE US IS REVERSED. PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER REGULARLY RECEIVE PRC AMB HUANG CHEN BUT AMB SHEN FROMROC, WITH WHOM THE US HAS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, IS RECEIVED ONLY BY LOWER LEVEL OFFICIALS. MA ADDED THAT HIS AND THE ROC'S GREATEST CONCERN IS US POLICY TOWARD CHINA. REGARDLESS OF PARTY OR CANDIDATE, HE BELIEVES THAT THE NEXT US PRESIDENT WILL MOVE RAPIDLY TO COMPLETE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH PEKING. ONLY HOPE FOR FORESTALLING NORMALIZATION WOULD BE POLITICAL TURMOIL IN CHINA.

5. CHINESE COMMUNITY IN JAPAN

MA ASSERTED THAT EARA WAS HOLDING ITS OWN AGAINST THE PRC EMBASSY IN RETAINING THE LOYALTY OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN JAPAN. HE AND HIS STAFF SPEND MOST OF THEIR TIME CULTIVATING THE COMMUNITY. TWENTY-FOUR PREFECTURAL CHINESE ASSOCIATIONS ARE PRO-ROC, TWO OF WHICH WERE ONLY RECENTLY ESTABLISHED. MA SAID HE WAS PARTICULARLY CAUTIOUS ABOUT LOYALTIES OF TAIWANASE STUDENTS, WHO COMPRISE THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE 3500 CHINESE STUDENTS STUDYING IN JAPAN, AND HE COURTS THEM LAVISHLY AND HE BELIEVES SUCCESSFULLY. UNLIKE THOSE IN THE US, ALMOST ALL RETURN TO TAIWAN AFTER COMPLETION OF THEIR STUDIES. MOST STUDY ENGINEERING, BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, AND MEDICINE. MA SAID THAT TAIWANESE IN JAPAN ALSO SEEM FAR LESS SUSCEPTIBLE TO PRC "REUNIFICATION PROPAGANDA" THAN THEIR TAIWANESE COUNTERPARTS IN THE US.

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6. PRC POWERSTRUGGLE

MA WAS UNUSUALLY NON-IDEOLOGICAL IN DISCUSSING THE CURRENT POWER STRUGGLE IN THE PRC AND HIS ANALYSIS WAS REMARKABLY CLOSE TO ASSESSMENTS MADE BY INR AND HONG KONG. AFTER A RITUAL "ALTHOUGH THE MAJORITY OF CHINESE PREFER NEITHER MODERATES NOR RADICALS," MA AGREED THAT MODERATES ENJOY AN ADVANTAGE OVER RADICALS IN CHINA'S POWER STRUCTURE. COMPROMISE CHOICE OF HUA DOES NOT SETTLE SUCCESSION PROBLEM. HUA HAS BEEN ADEPT IN AGRICULTURE AND RURAL ADMINISTRATION, BUT HE HAS HAD LITTLE EXPERIENCE IN NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION, URBAN PROBLEMS, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, OR, MOST IMPORTANTLY, IN CONTROLLING DISPARATE ELEMENTS OF CHINA'S POWER STRUCTURE. HOW HE CAN PERFORM IS SIMPLY UNKNOWN, BUT, SCARCELY CONCEALING HIS ADMIRATION FOR CHOU EN-LAI, MA SAID NO POLITICAL FIGURE IN PEKING INCLUDING HUA HAS THE ABILITIES OF CHOU. POWER STRUGGLE WILL ERUPT ANEW WHEN MAO DIES BUT MA SEEMED TO TAKE SOME CONSOLATION IN HIS BELIEF THAT CHIANG CHING WOULD FADE RAPIDLY WITH MAO'S DEMISE. MA RIDICULED NOTION THAT CHIANG CHING AND RADICALS STAGED THE EVENTS IN TIEN AN MEN. THERE WERE ENOUGH LAMENTATIONS ABOUT MAO'S WIDE TODEFINITELY DISPROVE THEORY THAT CHIANG CHING MANAGED THE RIOT TO CREATE PRESSURE TO DUMP TENG.

7. TAIWAN AND UE ASIA

RELATIONS BETWEEN TAIWAN AND SE ASIANS ARE IMPROVING, ACCORDING TO MA. TIES WITH INDONESIA AND SINGAPORE ARE GOOD. FONMIN MALIK HAS ASSURED TAIPEI THAT JAKARTA WILL PROCEED SLOWLY WITH PEKING. MA ASSUMES THIS MEANS JAKARTA-

PEKING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WILL REMAIN FROZEN AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER INDONESIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. LEE KUAN YEW IS VISITING PEKING TO IMPROVE HIS OWN ELECTORAL STANDING AND FOR COMMERCIAL REASONS. SINGAPORE WILL FOLLOW JAKARTA'S LEAD ON DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PEKING. TIES WITH MALAYSIA ARE WARMING IN WAKE OF MALAYSIA'S BURBLING INSURGENCY AND CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE FROM PEKING LAST YEAR ON OCCASION OF MALAYSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY 45TH ANNIVERSARY. ELECTIONS IN THAILAND PRODUCED A STRONGER (AND BETTER) THAI PARLIAMENT. MA ANTICIPATES THAT TAIWAN-
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THAI RELATIONS CAN BEGIN TO IMPROVE WITH THE NEW RTG. CONTRASTING WARM WORDS FOR OTHER ASEAN STATES, MA SAID MARCOS WAS "CRAZY AND DICTORIAL." HE RECALLED THAT MARCOS HAD SOUGHT KMT FUNDS FOR HIS INITIAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN. AS HEAD KMT 3RD COMMITTEE (OVERUEAS CHINESE), MA, IT SEEMS WITH SOME RELISH AND A GREAT DEAL OF DISINGENUOUSNESS, TURNED MARCOS DOWN, CLAIMING THAT KMT RULES PROHIBITED INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. OVERLOOKING THE PRECEDENT IN THE ROC, MA COMPARED MARCOS' OSTENSIBLE PLANS TO NAME IMELDA AS HIS SUCCESSOR WITH THE ARGENTINIAN EXAMPLE.

8. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH MA IS PERSISTENTLY UPBEAT IN DESCRIBING HIS ANJ THE ROC'S SUCCESSES, IT APPEARS TO US PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE RECENTLY IN REGULATING AND IMPROVING TAIWAN-JAPAN RELATIONS. THIS HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY TRUE SINCE THE RESTORATION OF THE AIRLINK LAST SUMMER DUE IN PART TO MA'S EFFORTS. THE FEBRUARY CONFERENCE IN TAIPEI ALSO APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A SIGNIFICANT MILESTONE. IMPLICIT IN MORE RELAXED ATTITUDE AMONG JAPANESE LEADERS TOWARD RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN MAY BE PERCEPTION AMONG THEM THAT AS TRUST IS GAINED IN CONSTRUCTING PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS PEKING ALSO IS LESS NERVOUS ABOUT JAPAN'S TIES WITH TAIWAN, ASSUMING OF COURSE THAT THOSE TIES CONFORM TO GROUND RULES AGREED UPON IN 1972. HODGSON UNQUOTE SISCO

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